

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 00374 01 OF 02 221142Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00  
SAJ-01 DODE-00 NSC-05 /065 W  
-----221207Z 011501 /12

P R 221052Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1290  
INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0374

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, PINT, PL  
SUBJECT: NATO STUDY OF THE SITUATION IN POLAD

REF: STATE 8749

1. PER REFTTEL'S REQUEST, WE SUMMARIZE BELOW THE THREE  
ALLIED SUBMISSIONS TO THE NATO STUDY OF THE SITUATION IN  
POLAND. WE WILL POUCH THE FULL TEXTS TO THE DEPARTMENT  
FOR EUR/RPM.

2. SUMMARY OF CANADIAN PAPER (PREPARED BY CANADIAN  
EMBASSY IN WARSAW) ON "THE COMMITTEE FOR WORKER'S  
DEFENSE" IS AS FOLLOWS:  
BEGIN SUMMARY:

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WDC TEMS FROM A NUMBER OF  
FACTORS. IT MARKS THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1970 THAT WORKS  
AND INTELLECTUALS HAVE UNITED IN ANY FORM OF COMMON FRONT.  
THE CHURCH HAS KEPT ITS DISTANCE FROM THE WDC AND DECREED  
THAT NO CHURCH MEMBER SHOULD BECOME INVOLVED; IT HAS  
CONTRIBUTED MONEY TO WDC ON THE SLY AND TAKEN SIMILAR  
STEPS OF ITS OWN TO HELP THE WORKERS. BECAUSE OF THIS  
ALLIANCE AND, IN REALITY, THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE  
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PAGE 02 NATO 00374 01 OF 02 221142Z

CHURCH, THIS COMMITTEE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SYMPTOM OF THE  
PRESENT CLIMATE IN POLAND INASFAH AS OPPOSITION TO  
THE GEIREK REGIME IS CONCERNED.

THE WDC HAS EMERGED FROM ALMOST TOTAL OBSCURITY TO BECOME  
THE FOCAL POINT OF DISSENT AGAINST THE PRESENT COMMUNIST  
REGIME. IF THE WORKERS AND THE INTELLECTUALS SHOULD  
EVENTUALLY CONSTITUTE A COMMON FROMT AGAINST THE GOVERN-  
MENT, AND IF THE CHURCH OPENLY COMES OUT IN FAVOR OF THE  
WDC, WHICH IS UNLIKELY, THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY

COULD BE FACED WITH AN INTRACTABLE SITUATION, SINCE MASSIVE REPRESSIVE MEASURES, WHICH WOULD ONLY ADD FUEL TO THE FIRE, WOULD SEEM OUT OF THE QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

3. SUMMARY OF ITALIAN PAPER ON "THE SITUATION IN POLAND" IS AS FOLLOWS:  
BEGIN SUMMARY:

THE ITALIAN PAPER SUGGESTS THAT THE RESHUFFLE OF THE PARTY'S APPOINTMENTS BY THE LAST CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM INDICATED TWO MAIN TRENDS: CONTINUITY RE THE LEADERSHIP AND BASIC POLICY OPTIONS; AND ADJUSTMENT AMONG THE VARIOUS FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY'S HIGHEST RANKS. GIEREK STILL APPEARS THE ONLY MAN CURRENTLY CAPABLE OF LEADING POLAND THROUGH THE CRISIS AND PREVENTING THE EXISTING TENSIONS FROM RESULTING IN A RUPTURE BETWEEN THE REGIME AND THE PEOPLE. GIEREK HAS EMERGED AS RATHER A MEDIATOR IN THE PARTY AND THE GUARANTOR OF FUNDAMENTAL POLISH POLICIES, WHICH INCLUDE STRONG TIES WITH THE USSR. BOTH THE OPPOSITION FORCES AND THE REGIME APPEAR TO WISH TO AVOID ANY FRACTURE WHICH MIGHT MAKE NECESSARY EVEN HARSHER MEANS OF REPRESSION TO RESTORE CALM. THE BALANCE MAINTAINED BY GIEREK BETWEEN THE "TECHNOCRATS" AND PRO-SOVIET GROUPS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN UPSET BY THE CRISIS. RESISTANCE AMONG INTELLECTUALS, CATHOLICS AND WORKING-CLASS MEMBERS TO THE MORE PRO-EASTERN (SOVIET) POLICIES OF GIEREK IN THE LAST YEAR HAS  
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PAGE 03 NATO 00374 01 OF 02 221142Z

BEEN TRANSFORMED BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS FROM A DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS, MORE BALANCED, .943 23 534,- ORIENTED POLICIES OF MORE THAN A YEAR AGO TO RE-SURGENT DESIRE FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL, AUTONOMOUS POLISH SOCIALISM AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATED IN THE WEST.

GIEREK HAS TRIED TO RESTRAIN THE GROWING SUPPORT FOR THE OPPOSITION BY TRYING TO LINK NATIONALISTIC FEELING WITH SUPPORT OF THE REGIME. TO DO THIS HE HAS TRIED TO PRESENT THE OPPOSITION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WESTERN IDEOLOGICAL EXPANSIONISM, BEHIND WHICH STANDS WEST GERMANY WITH ITS INTEREST IN POLISH TERRITORY. IT APPEARS, THEREFORE, THAT THE REGIME WILL RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE BY TAKING A MORE NATIONALISTIC BUT STIFFER--RATHER THAN MORE TOLERANT--ATTITUDE TOWARD ITS DOMESTIC CRITICS. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS HAS THUS PROVOKED IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNREST WHICH HAS TURNED ON ITSELF, FURTHER AGGRAVATING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND CREATING FOR THE GOVERNMENT A CIRCULAR SITUATION FROM WHICH IT IS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO FIND AN EXIT.  
END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 01 NATO 00374 02 OF 02 221154Z  
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INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 0374

4. THE SUMMARY OF THE FRENCH PAPER ON "POLAND IN  
1976" IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN SUMMARY:

LESS THAN SIX YEARS AFTER THE RIOTS IN THE PORTS OF THE  
BALTIC, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS OBLIGED TO YIELD  
AGAIN LAST JUNE TO THE RESOLUTE OPPOSITION OF WORKING  
CLASS FORCES.

BECAUSE POLAND DID NOT MAKE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL REFORMS  
IN THE EARLY 1950S, WHEN IT WAS TOTALLY SUBMISSIVE TO THE  
SOVIET UNION, THE GOVERNMENT MUST NOW TAKE INTO ACCOUNT  
OPPOSITION FORCES WHICH HAVE WIDE-SPREAD SUPPORT AT ALL  
SOCIAL LEVELS.

THE MAIN FORCE PARALYZING THE PARTY ACTION IS THE  
CATHOLIC CHURCH. OMNIPRESENT IN THE CITIES AS WELL AS  
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE POLISH CHURCH ALWAYS APPEARS AS THE  
CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION. UNITED BEHIND ITS PASTORS, WHOSE  
MORAL AUTHORITY IS INCONTESTABLE, IT HAS PRESERVED A DYNAMISM  
FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN EUROPE IN SPITE OF THE REGIME'S  
CONSTRAINTS UPON IT. REFUSING ALL COMPROMISE WITH MARXIST  
IDEOLOGY, IT IS READY NEVERTHELESS TO "RENDER UNTO CAESAR  
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PAGE 02 NATO 00374 02 OF 02 221154Z

WHAT IS CAESAR'S," AS LONG AS RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS ARE  
LEFT UNTOUCHED.

THE INTELLIGENSIA, DEEPLY MARKED BY THE LIBERAL TRADITIONS  
OF PRE-WAR POLAND, ALSO OPPOSES THE DOMINATION. WITHOUT  
IMPLICATING THE REGIME AGAIN, IT CONTESTS THE SOVIET MODEL  
AND FINDS ITSELF ALONGSIDE THE CHURCH IN DEFENDING  
FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

THUS THE CHURCH AND THE INTELLIGENSIA RANK AS THE ALLIES  
OF THE WORKERS, WHO OPPOSE THE SYNDICATES THAT OWE ALLEGIANCE

TO THE PARTY, AND OF THE PEASANTS, WHO ARE STRONGLY ATTACHED  
TO THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

FACED WITH OPPOSITION FROM SOM MANY PRESSURE GROUPS,  
MR. GIEREK'S GOVERNMENT SEEMS POWERLESS TO PROMOTE  
REFORMS NECESSARY TO SET THE COUNTRY ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM.

THE REGIME IS NOT, HOWEVER, IN DANGER. MR. GIEREK CAN  
COUNT ON THE PARTY, REORGANIZED BY HIM SINCE HIS  
ACCESSION TO POWER; ON THE USSR, WHOSE SUPPORT HE HAS; AND  
ABOVE ALL ON THE DEPTH OF NATIONAL FEELING OF THE POLISH  
PEOPLE WHO, IN SPITE OF THEIR COOLNESS TOWARD A REGIME  
IMPOSED BY MOSCOW, ARE NOT READY TO DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD  
BE CONTRARY TO THE HIGHER INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY.

FOR FOUR MONTHS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ON EDGE. SUR-  
PRISED BY THE SUDDENNESS AND THE VIOLENCE OF THE  
WORKERS' OPPOSITION, IT BECAME CONSCIOUS OF ITS  
ISOLATION AND OF ITS WEAKNESS. CUT OFF FROM THE MASSES,  
THE PARTY AND THE SYNDICATES ARE NO LONGER ABLE TO  
GAIN EASY ACCEPTANCE FOR THE ORDERS OF THE AUTHORITIES  
IN POWER.

THE SITUATION IS BLOCKED AND NO REFORM CAN BE UNDERTAKEN  
WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF ALL THE LIVE FORCES OF THE COUNTRY.  
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PAGE 03 NATO 00374 02 OF 02 221154Z

THE MARGIN THE GOVERNMENT HAS FOR MANEUVERING IS NARROW AND  
MR. GIEREK WILL HAVE TO SHOW MUCH SKILL TO GET OUT OF THE  
DEAD-END IN WHICH HE FINDS HIMSELF. END SUMMARY.  
STRASUZ-HUPE

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